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RAY C THOMAS
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SALEM ORE

JOE SMITH? . . . SORRY, THE NAME IS NOT FAMILIAR
Harold Stassen freely and openly rejoins the "party of the future"

THE CONVENTIONS AN...

Democrats & GOP show little division; key issues stifled

By Elmer Bendiner

WHEN the raccoon-coated cheer leaders and the baby elephant were led away from San Francisco, it became possible soberly to range the two major political conventions alongside each other and measure both against the realities which beat at the doors of both convention halls and never fully penetrated either.

There were conflicts in San Francisco as well as in Chicago. The difference was that among the Democrats that conflict reached the floor—and the TV screen—while among the Republicans the issue was fought and decided before the convention opened. The N.Y. **Times'** James Reston called it an "open convention secretly arrived at." The Republicans presented to the nation a monolithic front, the product of Republican centralism, but there were signs of struggle.

In neither case was the conflict one of principle or ideology. It was a battle for control of the party.

AN ALLIANCE FORGED: The Democrats staged a free-for-all among Southerners, the Truman court-house gang and the Stevenson "liberals" or "station-wagon set" who have taken over some of the Northern city machines. The Truman gang seemed to have suffered a decisive setback, though the bosses are adaptable enough to survive in most places. Chicago's Jake Arvey joined the Stevenson forces shortly after 1952 and Tammany's Carmine DeSapio is not likely to retire from the National Committee. Still, for the moment, they are on the fringes and not at the center of party control.

Their defeat might hold a germ of hope except that it was accomplished by the alliance of the "liberals" with the Southerners. Stevenson had busily built that alliance in travels through Georgia and Alabama and in study sessions at Sen. Lyndon Johnson's Texas ranch. He went into this year's race assured that his "moderation" was acceptable to the South, that there would be no bolts and a rebel yell only now and again for bargaining purposes and home consumption.

KEFAUVER'S POSITION: Kefauver fitted into none of the Democratic camps. His loneliness was appealing and became a rallying point for those who could work up no enthusiasm for any of the contending forces. To those who hated continued Southern rule of the party he could exhibit the flat opposition of Dixiecrats; to those outside the machine he

(Continued on Page 6)

19th CENTURY DREAM IS SHATTERED

New approach to the East urged at Suez conference

By Kumar Goshal

THE 22-NATION Suez Canal conference ended in London on Aug. 23 without reaching a unanimous decision about future control of the canal. The entire record of the conference was to be forwarded to the Egyptian government, while a five-nation committee representing the majority decision attempted to negotiate a settlement with President Nasser. On Aug. 26 Nasser agreed to meet with the committee but made it clear that his action did not commit him to accept any proposals made in London.

To the very end Soviet Foreign Minister Dmitri Shepilov stuck to his proposal for a broader 46-nation conference under the auspices of the Big Four plus Egypt and India. Indian representative Krishna Menon proposed negotiations with Nasser to set up a consultative body of "user interests" to advise Egypt on navigation through the Suez Canal, leaving control and operation in Egyptian hands. Spain suggested operation by an Egyptian corporation with foreign representation in it.

(Continued on Page 4)

Exclusive: Interview with a Soviet spokesman on anti-Semitism

By Tabitha Petran
Guardian staff correspondent

MOSCOW

A SOVIET SPOKESMAN told this correspondent that the tragic fate of the Jewish writers in the latter years of the Stalin regime was not the result of an isolated anti-Semitic drive, but rather a part of an anti-intellectual campaign which brought a similar fate to many nationalities — Russian, Ukrainian, Georgian, Byelo-Russian and Armenian.

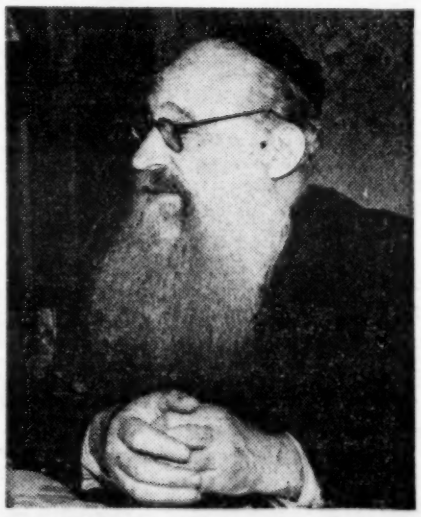
The spokesman was L. F. Ilyichev, press chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry. Asked about the article in **Folksshtimme**, a Yiddish-language Communist publication in Poland, which last April reported the death and disappearance of many leading Soviet Jewish writers and artists, and the dissolution of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, Ilyichev characterized the article as "slanderous and anti-Soviet." He said it was his personal opinion that the authors of the article "had picked up facts and distorted them according to a certain tendency." It was, he said, "an intermixture of certain real facts and certain fantasies. The authors used the real facts to make the fantasies look true."

CONSTITUTION QUOTED: The "true facts," he said, "concern those Jewish writers who were charged and condemned unjustifiably. But the conclusions this article draws as to the persecution of the Jewish people and their culture is a slanderous one. Any objective-minded person can see that it is impossible to speak of discrimination in the U.S.S.R. According to our Constitution, any national discrimination is criminal, and it is condemned by public opinion. There are many different nationalities, including Jewish, represented in Soviet art, literature, science, and we are all proud of them."

Ilyichev said that the "good names" of the Jewish writers unjustly condemned have been restored and that their works are now being widely republished throughout the U.S.S.R. He then noted the fate of writers of many nationalities.

Chief Rabbi Solomon Schliffer of Moscow emphasized the same point in an earlier interview with the GUARDIAN. He said: "Together with Jewish leaders, Russian professional and cultural leaders were also arrested. Therefore, we didn't regard the arrest of Jewish leaders as having an anti-Semitic character." He added: "All the Jewish people are building the Soviet state. There is no Jewish question in any part of Soviet life. During [Security Chief] Beria's regime there were isolated manifestations of anti-Semitism in different places. But even under Beria there was never any state anti-Semitic doctrine."

"MISTAKES CORRECTED": Ilyichev said that case reviews were still going on and that people were still being rehabilitated. He declared: "We have corrected our mistakes toward the Jewish people as well as our mistakes toward other nationalities. Discrimination is not a problem here. We have many difficult problems to solve but not this one."



RABBI SOLOMON SCHLIFFER
He gave his views too

He explained that the Soviet government's policy was to issue no statements on any of the Soviet victims of past miscarriages of justice. Statements were made only in the case of the leaders of the Polish Communist Party, who were victims of the 1938 purges, and of the early Hungarian CP leader Bela Kun. The reason, he said, was that these cases involved political parties and foreign ones at that.

(The Soviet Government apparently considers the whole question of the secret Khrushchev report—whose existence it will neither affirm or deny—and of the victims of the purges as an internal matter.)

On Aug. 11 the N. Y. Times *reported that for the first time a public confirmation of the Khrushchev report appeared in* Pravda. *Ed.*

Ilyichev said firmly that there are not now, and never have been in the USSR, any quotas or discrimination directed against the Jews or any nationality. Admission to higher educational institutions is decided by competitive exams (industrial workers and men released from the armed forces get some preference). There are so many more applicants than there are places open, he said, that some who are not admitted might complain of discrimination. But he knew of no such complaints, he said, and if there were any, they had no basis. Applicants must state their nationality, he said, but in a multinational state like the U.S.S.R., where all

(Continued on Page 5)

"MUST" MEMO TO GUARDIAN

☐ Here's a quick $..... for the GUARDIAN's immediate need.

☐ I'll try to fulfill a "Buck of the Month" pledge. Send me monthly reminders to send you $..... a month when possible. I understand this will cover my renewal.

☐ If my sub or pledge is in arrears, apply the above to bringing it up to date.

Please check address-plate on the other side of this coupon or on your paper's wrapper for errors before enclosing with remittance. Mail to

NATIONAL GUARDIAN, 197 E. 4th St., New York 9,, N. Y.

REPORT TO READERS

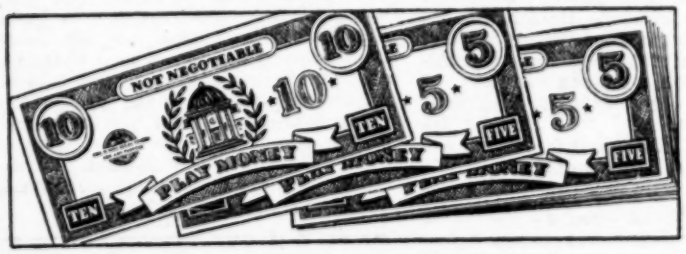
Last squeak

WE WRITE THIS REPORT with mingled feelings. Our published financial appeals beginning Aug. 13 have produced only the sketchiest kind of response. The fact that we were able to address perhaps 1,000 individuals personally and have got from them by fast return mail a most generous boost, has kept us from going down under the accumulated late-summer burden.

We are therefore deeply grateful to those who have come through so rapidly and generously, though the numbers are few; and deeply perturbed over the failure of a series of published appeals to cause more than a friendly ripple among a general readership of some 50,000 American progressives.

WE CANNOT UNDERTAKE a mass analysis of people whose responses we have not got. You know the answer best in your own case, if you're one of these. If you'd care to tell us, we'd like to know and perhaps have a Mailbag forum on why it is some people will answer a letter pronto but others require a five-alarm tocsin before responding to the printed word.

But even when the going is grim, there is bound to be some humor in the situation. One of the first responses we got enclosed a wad of play-money (see below) from some-



one signing him or herself "Sen. Joe McCarthy of Wisconsin." And from somewhere in Pa. we got $1 wrapped up in someone's notion-counter shopping list. So whoever the notion shopper is, here's what you had down to buy:

"1 spool no. 70 white thread
1 12-in pink zipper
2½ yards of hemming tape.
Martha's heel of shoe. . ."

FUN'S FUN, but we can't put out a paper with play-money and hemming tape. So we must renew our appeal. Rather than repeat the doleful numbers of yester-weeks, here's an excerpt from a letter which rushes in where we have feared to tread:

"Every once in a while the GUARDIAN staff takes a payless payday to help the paper over an emergency.

"Why only they? The paper is not theirs, or their responsibility, any more than it is ours. Eyen Buck-a-Monthers, or Two-Buck-a-Monthers, don't do that much. Why not?

"I gather that the staff goes through a lot of soul-searching before they let out a yell for help from the readers.

"Yell, dammit . . . and those of us still making living wages will do without some nonessential to keep the GUARDIAN going. A boss of mine used to concede that the squeaky wheel gets the grease."

Call this our last squeak, dammit, for the summer season. Let's hear from you.

— THE GUARDIAN

Back in touch

SANTAQUIN, UTAH

Lost touch for a few weeks. Have been running through the GUARDIANs which have piled up in my absence with the usual interest and appreciation.

I seem to absorb a certain excitement, as of participation in a mighty current of progressive change. You are certainly making an important contribution to this process. I am happy to put in my mite from time to time.

Jessie Greenhalgh

THE MAIL BAG

Suez

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Without question, Egypt is fully justified in her nationalization of the Suez Canal for the nation's welfare. The U.S. has flunked out in not accepting People's China's offer to have U.S. newsmen see People's China at work.

Abu Bakr

•

UPLAND, CALIF.

Reverse the situation: Suppose it was our Panama Canal; or suppose the Suez Canal ran across the U.S., or across England or France: Would we or Britain or France be willing, today, to "internationalize" it?

Immediately we reverse these matters (Formosa another), we get a quite different picture, do we not? Yes, we soon will have to do some internationalizing. But it will have to be through a real United Nations, such as its father, Franklin Roosevelt, and others, visualized it.

Franklin M. Baxter

•

ERWIN, TENN.

It ain't Nasser-sarily so.

E.S.

•

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

How open was the Suez Canal to ships of all nations during World War I and World War II?

Bodo Ohly

•

YONKERS, N.Y.

How about some editorial comment on Egypt's denial of the use of the Suez Canal to all Israeli shipping for the past seven years, in relation to her present protestations that she intends to honor the international obligations of the treaty, permit unrestricted use of the canal by all nations. How come England, France, et al, don't mention this point at all in the current arguments?

Name Withheld

•

CLEVELAND, O.

Western leaders are in a panic over losing the Suez Canal. Additional properties, such as oil wells and mines are likely to be nationalized in the same manner as Suez. Then prices on raw materials will rise for Western Europe. These added costs will force prices up on finished goods. The economy of Western Europe will be put at a disadvantage by these changes. There is good cause for panic among the businessmen and politicians. The whole system will soon come under greater question in their countries as well as colonies and former colonies.

B.B.

Running mate

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Here's a buck so you can raise the slogan:

A Vote for Ike is a Vote for Bridey Murphy.

S.N.

New blood for '58

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Listening to Eleanor Roosevelt plead for young blood and new leadership at the Democratic Convention brought home as never before the almost impossibility of the Democratic Party —the Republican Party is beyond words — ever being anything but the plaything of hidebound, brass-brained, moss-grown, small-minded politicians. Those in the hall applauded thunderously. But where is the new blood she spoke about? If it is in the Democratic Party, it is pretty well stifled and will never be allowed to break loose. The big boys pretty will see to that. Men like Stevenson are not real peoples' leaders, and will never do anything to help this stimulating force to break loose.

I work with many Negroes in Civil Service and they're all pretty disgusted with both parties. I believe the time is ripe—it will be over-ripe before long—for a determined band of labor people—who they will be, I don't know—and Negro leaders to organize a Third Party for the 1958 Congressional elections and the 1960 national elections, beginning with now. If a fight is made, I believe more and more Americans will begin to shake off their numbness and apathy and they will respond.

Name Withheld

N. Y. Herald Tribune

"We didn't invent that one, sir. We got it for a box top and ten cents."

All the way

PARIS, FRANCE

I'm for the U.S.A.—United Socialists of America.

Homesick (but hopeful)

Non-electioneering

BOSTON, MASS.

No need to stay away from the polls nor to vote Republican or Democrat as long as any socialist candidate is on the ballot. Any socialist vote is satisfactory as long as it is certain none will be elected. The only profit is to get a figure for the polls on the strength of the vote from the left.

Norman L. Smith

Recommended reading

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

I call to your attention the well-balanced article in a recent **Nation** by G.D.H. Cole, "Post-Stalin Shock"; also, "A Communication" (inside cover of **Nation** 7/28/56) by a George Benjamin, articles by Schuman, and a beautifully-written analysis by "Timon" on the "Troubled Mandarins" in the August **Masses & Mainstream.** Now if the GUARDIAN would come up with some fresh approaches, we could begin to forge a path most progressives and liberals could take together! Also worth reading is Sweezy's review of **From Paris to Peking** of Starobin's, in the **Monthly Review.** The reasoning is sound, in my opinion, and if heeded, could help form a third party that would have wide appeal to Americans.

Mrs. Jack Alley

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

"I've done more to implement civil rights than any other President of the United States."

Harry S. Truman, N. Y. **Times,** 7/16

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: Harry Fries, N.Y.C. Be sure to send original clip with entry.

Quick, Henry—the Flit!

ASHLAND, ALA.

Although the steel strike is over, the Walter Committee on Un-American Activities sent one of their investigators, Jackson Jones, down here to "investigate Communist activities" in Alabama. He called up on the phone and came into our house just as I was shaving. We asked him to leave and he tried to apologize for having made me shave for a visitor. He was very folksy and chatty. Something must be cooking, otherwise why should that gang be going into out-of-the-way rural areas?

Hardy Scott

Book offer

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

As a stimulus to GUARDIAN contributors we are willing to send to 25 readers sending in contributions of $10 or more a gift copy of Gilbert Green's recently published study of monopoly in the U.S., **The Enemy Forgotten** (list price $2.50).

Since there is no point in your limited finances being used for mailing expenses, please send us the list of 25 contributors who express a desire to have the book and we will mail the books to them at our expense.

Ellis Colton, mgr.
Intl. Book Store,
1408 Market St.

A handsome offer, for which we are grateful. Specify, with your $10 or more, that you'd like a copy of THE ENEMY FORGOTTEN. — Ed.

Best pals and . . .

BERKELEY, CALIF.

I believe that the friends of the Soviet Union and indeed of socialism everywhere should be its severest critics. The GUARDIAN should make every effort to keep its readers informed of every advance to a more democratic society in the socialist countries and at the same time search out their flaws and reactionary tendencies.

Theodore Odza

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HE TRIED TO TELL IT TO THE MARINES

The ordeal of George Shibley

By Lawrence Emery

GEORGE E. SHIBLEY, a labor and civil liberties attorney of Long Beach, Calif., faces three years in prison and disbarment because he successfully defended a Marine Corps enlisted man. Back in July, 1952, Shibley undertook what he thought would be a one-day intervention in behalf of Master Sergeant John R. Bennette. It developed into four years of vindictive harassment. As Shibley himself once put it:

"The only crime of which I am guilty is that of daring to defend an enlisted man against persecution by a vicious and corrupt clique of brass hats."

On the West Coast the case has generated considerable public interest because, as stated by Ray Miller, editor of the Long Beach **Tribune**, it poses this fundamental issue:

"If the right of military arrest and the right to hale civilians before military courts of inquiry are upheld and the use of military police to arrest civilians is permitted we come to a danger so evidently opposed to our concept of democracy that it should enlist the fullest opposition of every citizen, every attorney and every public official."

HOW IT ALL BEGAN: On July 17, 1952, M/Sgt. Bennette, a veteran of 19 years in the Marines, was arrested at the EL Toro Marine Air Base at Santa Ana, Calif., and charged with violation of a regulation prohibiting service personnel from transporting for hire other Marines. Actually the charge was an inconsequential one because the regulation is rarely observed and rarely enforced at any Marine installation; the daily newspaper at the El Toro base regularly carried offers of transportation, by officers as well as enlisted men, for a fee.

But, for whatever their reasons, the base brass was after M/Sgt. Bennette. When his guaranteed right to choose a service defense counsel was denied, his wife and friends prevailed upon Shibley to look into his case (Bennette, before his enlistment, had been a member of the Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union and Shibley is attorney for some ILWU locals).

Upon looking into the Bennette case, Shibley found many irregularities which eventually led to Bennette's conviction after a court-martial. His sentence, for a trifling offense, shocked even case-hardened Marines: he was reduced to private, sentenced to six months at hard labor, deprived of benefits accrued in almost 20 years of service, fined $300 and given a bad conduct discharge.

SHIBLEY'S WOES BEGIN: On March 16, 1953, Bennette's conviction was reversed by a Military Board of Review in Washington and he was restored to full rank and benefits. But before then Shibley's troubles had begun.

During the course of the pre-trial investigation and the court-martial, he had written to the Commandant of the Marine Corps in Washington citing 11 specific acts against Bennette which he declared to be illegal abuses, naming the officers involved. Some of his charges were rough; he declared that a major, called as a prosecution witness, "was caused . . . to commit perjury and to sign a statement which can be proved to be completely false. . . ."

Other charges included these:

- That the pre-trial investigation was conducted by "a dishonest, untruthful and dishonorable agent" of one of the prosecuting officers "with the sole purpose of creating, building and manufacturing a case against Bennette."
- "Witnesses have been openly coerced, intimidated and threatened by the officers above referred to, they have been forced in several instances to give up their rights against self-incrimination and to perjure themselves."
- "The official records of the pre-trial investigation have been falsified and in some instances destroyed through the dishonest and dishonorable acts" of other officers.

TOUGH RECOMMENDATIONS: Shibley's recommendations were as harsh as his charges; he suggested that "the non-service income and activities of the named officers" be investigated and that charges, "including perjury and the subornation of perjury" be filed, and "that you forthwith cause the said officers, and each of them, to be arrested and confined."

This did not endear Shibley to the officers involved. Immediately after Bennette's conviction, the commanding general of the base appointed a military "court of inquiry", consisting of three of his subordinate officers, and Shibley was called in for questioning. After three days he was dismissed as a witness. Some days later he was ordered by phone to reappear within 30 minutes—his office is 30 miles from the base. On advice of counsel he ignored this summons on the ground that the court of inquiry no longer had any jurisdiction over him. Thereafter four armed MP's turned up at his office and forced him to accompany them to the base.

All told, Shibley was grilled for five days and was denied counsel. He declined to answer most questions, refusing to violate the privileged relationship of attorney to client.

BROWNELL TAKES OVER: Shibley next was charged in a federal civil court with contempt of the military court of inquiry—a step so rare that there is only one known precedent and that case was dismissed. Shibley, in a letter to a friend, had his own explanation for this legal novelty:

"There would have been no prosecution had it not been for [Atty. Gen.] Brownell serving under a **general** as President. The Democratic U.S. Attorney in Los Angeles refused to prosecute me until ordered to do so from Washington the day after Brownell took office."

Shibley has declared that before the contempt trial he rejected a prosecution offer to let him off with a token $50 fine if he offered no defense. He offered such a vigorous defense, with the aid of Los Angeles attorney Daniel Marshall, that the jury acquitted him. This made trial Judge James Carter so irate that he castigated the jury, then charged Shibley with "summary contempt" for actions in his own defense and sentenced him to 30 days (the sentence is now on appeal).

ENTER MR. THOMPSON: Shortly after his acquittal on the contempt charges, Shibley was brought to trial on a felony charge of receiving and conspiring to steal the transcript of the proceedings before the Marine court of inquiry. It transpired that Charles Thompson, an employe of a detective agency, had indeed acquired a copy of the transcript, but there was no evidence that Shibley had anything to do with it. In any case, he was legally entitled to the transcript if he had need of it.

Thompson admitted on the stand that he had three times been an inmate of a mental institution and among other things he had a record of arrests for sex offenses.

After the jury had deliberated for two days, the trial judge called it in and instructed it to reach a verdict within an hour or be locked up over a weekend just before the Christmas holidays (the trial began on Dec. 8, 1953). It returned in a half-hour with a guilty verdict and Shibley was sentenced to three years. (Thompson, who admitted taking the transcript, was let off with a suspended sentence.)

OUTSIDE THE COURTROOM AT THE MILITARY CONTEMPT TRIAL
George Shibley (c.) with John Bennette (r.) and a sound expert

BENNETTE RESIGNS: After the trial a 15-year-old girl, a ward of the state, signed an affidavit admitting she had been with Thompson the night he acquired the transcript and swearing that Shibley had no knowledge of it and was not involved in any way. The prosecution had obviously known of the girl's story—and had kept her in detention during the trial. But a motion for a new trial on the basis of this new evidence was denied.

Just before Shibley's conviction, Sgt. Bennette, who was needed as a witness in the summary contempt proceedings, was ordered to Korea by plane on 30 minutes notice but Shibley succeeded in having the orders canceled. Bennette thereafter found life in the Marines so difficult for him that he resigned, though he would in a short time have been entitled to full retirement and pension rights.

In the same month of his felony trial, Shibley filed a $2,000,000 suit against the top brass at the El Toro base, charging that he had been illegally placed under military detention by force.

CASE NOW ON APPEAL: When he appealed his conviction to the U.S. Ninth Circuit Court, eight leading lawyers volunteered to represent him without fee. The appeal was turned down on March 19 this year and in a petition for a rehearing, also rejected, the eight contended that "the purpose [of the prosecution] was solely to punish a civilian lawyer for his vigorous representation of an enlisted man."

The Shibley case is now on appeal to the Supreme Court. A "friend of the court" brief supporting the appeal was prepared by attorneys James Snedeker, a retired Marine Corps brigadier general, and Myron G. Ehrlich, a Navy captain of Washington, D.C. The brief was signed by 300 atorneys.

Last week an enlarged Shibley Defense Committee (P.O. Box 784, Long Beach 2, Calif.)—with civilian John R. Bennette as its national chairman—was appealing for nationwide support. Said Shibley in the committee's first national appeal:

"I advocate immediate legislation by the Congress of the U.S. to abolish 'command control' [the influence exercised over a court-martial by the officer in command], to prevent military interference of civil rights, to permit freedom of the civilian government from control, coercion and domination by the military and to protect the independence of lawyers to vigorously and courageously represent any client without intimidation, interference or fear of prosecution."

WHAT YOU CAN DO: The committee urges letters to Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell (Justice Dept., Washington, D. C.)—with copies to President Eisenhower—requesting that he consent to a reversal of the Shibley conviction or that he consent to a hearing of the case by the U. S. Supreme Court. The committee also suggests letters to Sens. Thomas C. Hennings, Wayne Morse, William Langer, Estes Kefauver and Thomas Kuchel, (Senate Office Bldg., Washington, D. C.) asking that the Bennette and Shibley cases be investigated.

How the Negroes feel about Suez

HOW DOES the Negro press see the Suez situation? The **Los Angeles Herald-Dispatch** said in an editorial (8/9):

"Nasser's challenge could very well usher in another turn in the affairs of the Negro and colonial peoples [to] equal in effect the loss of Tsarist Russia to the imperialists in 1919". It said that not only have the people of Asia deflated the "carefully cultivated myth of white invincibility [but] have the support of the socialist countries." It went on:

"The treatment of the Negroes in this country is a very live issue in Africa, Asia and Europe. Jimcrow oppression, the Achilles heel of U.S. imperialism . . . is the decisive factor in [Middle East] rejection of American leadership. That our State Dept. recognizes this is demonstrated in (1) the eager broadcasting by Voice of America of the Supreme Court [anti-jimcrow school] decision; (2) the financing by the State Dept. of trips abroad by your Uncle Toms to tell overseas people what a happy, glorious existence we Negroes enjoy in this country. Don't think for a minute that the colored people of the Middle East pay any attention to our exported Uncle Toms.

"It is doubly important for the Negro people . . . to recognize and be able to understand who our enemies are . . . We must understand that the man who calls Nasser a Hitler, a dictator, calls you a dirty nigger behind your back. The man who advocates war against Nasser advocates lynching you."

The Chicago **Defender** (8/11) said Nasser "in the chess game of diplomacy managed to outmaneuver and out-think the Striped Pants Dept." The paper cautioned that nothing worse could happen than U. S. sanction of "a call to arms" against Egypt in an election year. Why not, asked the **Defender**, "invite Nasser to Washington for some talks?"

"HIT SEGREGATION IN THE HEAD"

Birmingham Negroes organizing to outdo Montgomery protest

By Eugene Gordon

THE NATIONAL SPOTLIGHT on the civil rights fight in Alabama shifted back and forth last week from Montgomery to Birmingham. NAACP attorneys in Montgomery filed two petitions with the Alabama Supreme Court for a writ to dismiss the $100,000 contempt fine levied against it by Circuit Court Judge Walter B. Jones.

One petition contended that Judge Jones had exceeded his jurisdiction; the other asked rehearing and reconsideration of a petition rejected by the State Supreme Court Aug. 13.

Judge Jones imposed the fine July 30 because the NAACP had refused to turn over its membership list to Alabama's attorney general, as ordered by the court. He demanded the list during trial of a suit to determine the NAACP's right to "do business in Alabama."

In Birmingham Mrs. Autherine Lucy Foster last week petitioned the U.S. District Court for readmission to Alabama University in September. As Autherine Lucy she was expelled by the board of trustees last Feb. 29 allegedly for making "outrageous, false and baseless accusations" against college authorities. She said they had conspired with a mob to prevent her studying there. She later withdrew the charge. Miss Lucy married the Rev. Hugh Foster of Texas, where they now live. Aug. 29 was set for the argument.

A third bombing

THE HOME of Rev. Robert Graetz, 27-year-old white minister of Montgomery's all-Negro Trinity Lutheran Church, was bombed at 3 a.m. Aug. 25. He and his wife and their children were away. Rev. Graetz, the only Montgomery white minister openly supporting the anti-jimcrow bus protest, is the third such bombing victim. The home of Rev. Martin Luther King, official head of the movement was bombed last Jan. 30, and that of E. D. Nixon, a co-worker, a few nights later. Nobody was injured in the earlier acts of terror.

FOR HUMAN RIGHTS: Rev. F. W. Shuttleworth, pastor of Birmingham's Bethel Baptist Church and president of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, said his movement would go beyond Montgomery's anti-jimcrow bus protest. He said it would "hit segregation in the head," not "fool around with its tail." A CMHR delegation presented to the Birmingham Transit Co. the same demand made by the Montgomery Improvement Assn. on the bus line there: (1) courtesy to Negro riders; (2) all passengers seated on a first-come, first-served basis; (3) Negro drivers for predominantly Negro routes.

Rev. Shuttleworth quoted a Transit Co. spokesman: "We're willing to grant your requests, but we dare not at this time. We need a court decree before we can act. Get that for us and we'll take down the bars as well as hire colored drivers immediately."

Organized last June to replace the Alabama-outlawed NAACP, the CMHR terms itself "Christian" because the leadership of its anti-jimcrow fight also leads many church congregations. It bars nobody on religious grounds. Shuttleworth said it would go "much farther than the NAACP" toward its overall objective: "to destroy racial segregation throughout Alabama."

"TESTIMONY" GIVEN: The CMHR sponsors weekly meetings where its campaigns are discussed. Average attendance is 1,250; membership is set at 3,000. Meetings are opened with prayer. "Testimony" on experiences with jimcrow adds drama. Then comes a practical talk to help prepare a program. "Testimonials" by the persons rejected for clerical jobs in a Birmingham chain grocery store sparked a discussion about picketing the company.

The CMHR's request that the City Commission appoint Negro policemen was ignored until the story turned up in the press. The Negro organization regularly releases news on its efforts. Rev. Shuttleworth last week accompanied two Negro applicants to take civil service examinations for the police force. The city-county personnel board director rejected their applications because the forms stipulated "white."

DR. KING'S CASE: In Montgomery, meanwhile, a 360-page transcript of court records in the trial last March of MIA president and bus-protest leader Rev. Martin Luther King was completed. It cost $1,500. Dr. King's case will serve as a test for nearly 100 others indicted in the anti-jimcrow protest. Separate trials would have cost thousands of dollars. The transcript, with all MIA business records, will be used in the minister's appeal.

Tapley in Amsterdam News
Full citizenship or bus(t)!

All the defendants were accused under an old anti-labor law of sponsoring an illegal boycott of Montgomery's transit lines.

Selective Service Director Hershey on Aug. 14 asked Alabama draft officials to grant MIA attorney Fred D. Gray a 30-day induction delay at the urging of the NAACP and the Baltimore **Afro-American**. His scheduled induction Aug. 15 had been called vindictive.

Suez conference

(Continued from Page 1)

MONKS AT WORK: U.S. Secy. of State Dulles proposed a convention giving control of the canal to a Suez Canal Board responsible "for operating, maintaining and developing the canal." Board members, in addition to Egypt, "would be other states chosen in a manner to be agreed upon from among the states party to the convention."

Dulles persuaded Pakistan, Iran and Ethiopia to join 14 Western nations in supporting his proposal. Since Nasser has consistently refused to hand over control of the canal to an international agency, India, Indonesia, Ceylon and the U.S.S.R. maintained the Dulles proposal would be unacceptable to Egypt.

Nevertheless, the 18 nations supporting the Dulles plan set up a five-member committee (U.S., Australia, Iran, Sweden, Ethiopia) with Australian Prime Minister Robert Menzies as chairman to

Canard Enchaine, Paris
Dulles: "Oh, oh!"

undertake negotiations with Cairo. Menzies said that committee members, realizing the tremendous significance of their undertaking, should maintain silence "like Trappist monks."

FORCE IS FOLLY: The previously bellicose London **Times** (8/24) foresaw a continued "uneasy war of attrition and nerves." The N.Y. **Times** said (8/26) that many in Britain were left "with a feeling of bewilderment as to what exactly [the conference] was all about, and what expectations led to calling it. . . Conservative papers are beginning to beat the war drums again," while Liberal and Labour papers assert that "the conference proved the folly of belligerency."

Government officials and the press in Paris deplored the conference's failure to prepare action to "impose" a solution on Nasser. Though few, if any, of the 16 nations joining Britain and France in support of the Dulles plan would approve a solution by force, the French Defense Ministry nevertheless stepped up military preparations. Egyptian ambassador to France Abdel Nabi warned: "The day when Arabs would tremble at threats from Europe is past. France and Britain are due for an unpleasant awakening from their 19th century dream."

"HANDS OFF": Asians generally supported Indonesian President Soekarno's warning: "Hands off Egypt." Ceylon's Premier Bandaranaike, believing the London conference has removed the immediate danger of war, said that Western insistence on international control of the canal against Asian opposition would make a negotiated settlement difficult, if not impossible. Cairo newspapers called the Dulles proposal "arrogant," predicted that Nasser would reject it.

Cairo seemed genuinely worried by continued Anglo-French warlike moves and attempts to disrupt canal traffic by preventing the return to Suez of Western pilots now on vacation abroad. The French were reported feeling that breakdown of canal traffic by refusal of Western pilots to work for the nationalized company would give Britain and France a hope of winning world opinion for re-establishing canal operation by force if necessary.

BACK TO BANDUNG? Egyptian officials were reported considering a protest to the UN Security Council that the Anglo-French military moves in the Mediterranean posed a threat to Middle Eastern peace. Indonesian representative to the London conference Abdulgani said in Cairo that he had discussed with President Nasser the possibility of convening the Bandung powers to consider the Suez crisis. Un Secy.-Gen. Hammarskjold indicated the possibility of UN General Assembly discussion of the Suez issue in November. Some Western correspondents were reported booking reservations at Geneva in anticipation of another Suez conference there.

In any case, the very unrepresentative character of the London conference would seem to preclude success in solving the Suez problem. Of the 48 nations using the canal—including Israel—24 were not invited to attend. Even the broader conference proposed by India and the U.S.S.R. did not include Israel.

A LONDON HEADLINE

Israeli Minister of State Mordecai Ben Tov declared on Aug. 21 that Israel must give up reliance on the West and identify itself "more and more with the Asian community of nations." Feeling that there was a "justified impression" that some Western powers were ready to sacrifice Israel as a price for a settlement with Egypt to protect their Middle Eastern oil interests, Ben Tov said: "I hope these powers will not consider it ungrateful on our part if we . . . sacrifice their oil interests for the sake of a peaceful settlement with Egypt."

LIVING WITH ASIANS: Despite obvious shortcomings, however, the London conference disclosed—as representatives of many smaller European countries pointed out—the need for "a whole new approach by Europe to the nations of the East." The GUARDIAN'S London correspondent Gordon Schaffer reported that many countries gave only qualified support to the Dulles proposal: "Norway's delegate Lange stressed 3 times in a 10-minute speech that any London plan must be negotiated with Egypt; Turkey, Denmark and Spain put special emphasis on respecting Egypt's sovereignty; the word 'mutual' was underlined in the text handed out by the Danish Embassy."

According to the N.Y. **Times** (8/23) one top European official said: "We'll simply have to work out a new way of living with the East—a way without special Western spheres of influence. It will not be nearly as good for us as the old way, but we haven't any choice."

There's time, Hans—wait until you grow up

VICTORIA (CP)—Conductor Hans Gruber "apologized" to an audience of 8,500 at the Butchart Gardens symphony Thursday night for playing contemporary Russian music.

"It is not too fashionable in our western world to play music by Russian composers living today," he told the audience, many of them visitors 'rom south of the border.

"I hasten to assure you we have no subversive tendencies. As a matter of fact, we would like to be capitalists—but we are not!"

—Vancouver (B. C.) **Sun**, July 14

DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY IN IDAHO

Taylor trails by hair in Senate race

IN THE CLOSEST RACE in the state's history, former Sen. Glen Taylor of Idaho last week was still trailing Boise attorney Frank Church for the Democratic nomination for U. S. Senator.

Taylor, who served in the Senate as a Democrat from 1944 to 1950 and ran for Vice President with Henry Wallace on the Progressive Party ticket in 1948, was 170 votes behind as the GUARDIAN went to press. His total vote was 27,772 to Church's 27,942.

Since the primaries on Aug. 14, the tally see-sawed back and forth until the final vote seemed to give the edge to Taylor's rival. But the official report of the State Board of Canvassers wasn't scheduled to be filed until Aug. 27 and it was likely that, no matter what that result, a recount would be asked. On Aug. 22 Taylor announced that he was not conceding a thing until the official canvass was in.

Under an oddity of Idaho law, the candidates themselves must finance a recount in a primary vote.

Taylor won the Democratic nomination in 1954 but lost in the general election.

AN EDITORIAL STATEMENT

Anti-Semitism and the Soviet Union

HUMANELY-CONCERNED AMERICANS will not agree with Soviet Foreign Ministry press chief I. F. Ilyichev that the question of anti-Semitism in the U.S.S.R. is an internal matter; as they would not contend that anti-Negro practices in the United States are an internal concern only of this country. Or that the Rosenberg Case was a private American matter.

Nor can these same Americans—among whom are those of the highest good will toward the Soviet Union—be fully reassured by the lack of candor evidenced by Soviet officials seeking to maintain the position that anti-Semitic occurrences in their country are matters of internal concern only. All injustice is a matter of universal concern.

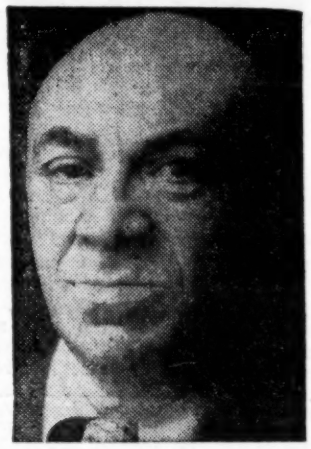
Humanely-concerned Americans—with whom the people of the GUARDIAN associate themselves—stand together in abhorrence of anti-Semitism and all other forms of discrimination, of registration of peoples by race, color, nationality or other group differentiation; of quota systems however rationalized and wherever existing.

We learn with relief and all possible satisfaction that amends are being made where possible and that restoration of suppressed culture is taking place; yet we cannot regard executions of Jewish leadership and resulting terrorization as in any way different from legal lynchings with which Americans are all too familiar.

That they have occurred in a socialist society, even despite a tradition of law making such acts criminal and punishable, compels the conclusion that even such a society cannot in 38 years wipe out centuries-old prejudice, nor make a whole people proof against the corruption of power or the power of corrupt forces to regenerate and exploit it.

All humanely-concerned Americans await full reassurance; and many look to the Soviet Union to set a needed world example in the complete elimination of even the semblance of barriers between peoples making up a nation.

—THE EDITORS



Revival

The publishing house Soviet Writer has announced that a six-volume edition of the work of Peretz Markish (l.), one of the executed Jewish writers, will be published in Russian and Yiddish in 1957. Next year there will appear also the selected works of Itzik Feffer, the celebrated Yiddish writer (c.), who toured the U.S. during the war with Solomon Mikhoels, the Soviet Yiddish actor (r.). They too have been reported to be victims of the purge. From Moscow comes word that Jewish songs are once again being heard on the radio, records are on sale in the shops, and Jewish ballets performed.

Soviet spokesman

(Continued from Page 1)

nationalities are equal, this is not discrimination.

WHAT KHRUSHCHEV SAID: Asked about a N. Y. Times report of June 10 that Soviet CP First Secy. Nikita Khrushchev had told a French Socialist delegation that the U.S.S.R. restricts the number of Jews in professional positions, Ilyichev said: "This dispatch for the most part does not correspond with reality." What Khrushchev said, he explained, was that after the Revolution some of the U.S.S.R.'s national republics did not have their own national trained core of key people, that these cadres at the time were largely Russian. But now the Revolution was almost 40 years old, new national cadres had been created and the people of these Republics were demanding a place for them.

"It is quite understandable," Ilyichev said, "that any people should want to create their own cadres and prefer their leading ones to be of their own nationality. But this doesn't mean that able Jewish people are not and will not be promoted. There are hundreds of thousands of them holding positions in our public life. In the Jewish Autonomous Region of Birobidjan, created by the Soviet government in response to the requests of representatives of the Jewish people, all leading positions could have been occupied by Jews, but they did not want to hold all such positions, and some are held by Russians since there are also Russians living there. Many Jewish people did not want to go to Birobidjan and remained in Russia, the Ukraine, etc., where they are represented in the leading cadres."

POLICY VIOLATIONS: Ilyichev conceded that there had been violations of official policy against discrimination in the past. He said that "perhaps at certain offices and enterprises certain directors had followed a policy contrary to our government policy." He said the government had been making a great effort to move people into productive enterprise and from the cities into agriculture. In this process "certain cases may have occurred when people were moved according to nationality, that is, heads of offices may have violated government policy. Later some directors were removed because of mistakes. It would be difficult to say they were removed for anti-Semitism, but these things are interconnected. Cases of discrimination would be a matter for the trade unions. Such cases would be investigated and condemned by them."

He was asked to explain how his statement could be reconciled with that of CP Central Committee Secy. Ekaterina Furtseva's to the GUARDIAN. She had said that in the past in departments where there was a heavy concentration of Jews, steps were taken to transfer them to equally good positions in other enterprises. Ilyichev secured from Mme. Furtseva this explanation:

In her interview with the GUARDIAN, she meant that "if at some time there had taken place changes in office personnel, these changes were dictated by the economic needs of the country and under no circumstances were aimed at any discrimination of persons of any nationality. If a chief of an office or department found that in his office there existed over-saturation of a certain group of specialists, then proceeding from the economic needs of the country and with no reference to nationality, some of the specialists were given other posts in industry, agriculture and other branches. Never at any time during the Soviet power were there any quotas for Jews or persons of some other nationality, and there are not now."

DISPLACED PERSONS: Ilyichev also revealed that the Soviet government is discussing the resettling in their old homelands of the national groups uprooted or dispersed during and after the war. These include the Crimean Tartars who were held guilty as a national group of the treachery committed by some of them during the war.

"As you can judge from certain material," he said in an apparent reference to the secret Khrushchev report (see GUARDIAN, Aug. 6), "some wrong steps were taken towards these people. These nationalities were not denied the right to work; they have been working in both industry and agriculture. Therefore the question is not such a pressing one. It is a difficult question because other peoples are now living in their old places and the question arises as to what to do with them. Some nationalities held a wrong position during the war. We can't look abstractly at the situation that existed then: it was a question of the life or death of the Soviet Union. That's why it's not possible immediately to take certain actions on this question."

A PICTURE OF WHAT HAPPENED

A reporter draws some conclusions

MOSCOW

IN A TWO-MONTH VISIT in the U.S.S.R. this reporter has spoken with many people on "the Jewish question"—both Jews and non-Jews. On the basis of these talks certain conclusions can be drawn: As Jewish cultural leaders were among the victims of the purges, so were the cultural leaders of many nationalities. As Jewish cultural institutions were closed down, so too, in the drive against "cosmopolitanism" [a catch-all phrase of the later Stalin era to describe persons influenced by "bourgeois, decadent, rootless" culture—Ed.], were many others, including Moscow's Institute of Oriental Studies, one of the oldest institutes in the country.

In my talks I got this picture of what transpired:

Before the war anti-Semitism was virtually non-existent; countenancing it was unthinkable. During the war Hitler's propaganda had its effect: it made Jews feel themselves as Jews and others conscious of the fact that they were Jews. In this country, where pogroms are centuries old, it evoked a response among some, especially in rural areas. Many countryfolk moved into the cities after the war, in some cases bringing the poison with them. But the government took measures to eradicate it. People were arrested and punished for anti-Semitic acts and utterances. The government campaign apparently was successful.

SPY HYSTERIA: A few years later, however, there developed in the U.S.S.R., with the intensified resistance to the Cold War, a spy hysteria. Unprincipled persons connected with some government offices (Beria's group is often mentioned) took advantage of the tense situation. They worked up a "spy scare," using the term "Zionist" to put the spy label on many prominent Jews and even non-Jews. The treason trials in several Eastern European countries (now conceded to be frame-ups) added fuel to the flame. The "doctors' case" early in 1953 was the culmination.

The underhanded nature of this deliberately-provoked "anti-Zionist" spy scare is evident in the fact that its promoters never dared to come out openly with anti-Semitic slogans. But the spy scare, coupled with the dismantling of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, produced widespread fear among the Jewish community. During this period, there were grave injustices.

RABBI COMMENTS: After the elimination of Beria and, perhaps equally important, the thorough-going reorganization of the Security Administration, all of this died down. The hysteria came to an end. Some Jews still feel uneasy about the future, though I found the Jews in general divided on this question. A story circulated in Moscow's foreign colony is that Jews are afraid to apply for admission to the new school being opened for the training of rabbis. Moscow's chief Rabbi Solomon Schliffer said such stories "are just made up," and that he had received letters from all over the country proposing candidates. He said Jewish Bibles, prayer books and religious calendars are being published; that his congregation is increasing; that special Jewish food can be bought easily, as well as Jewish religious objects; that the state bread factory sells matzoth very cheaply; that state shops will soon sell kosher meat at state prices; and that the state organization will soon open a Jewish cafeteria in Moscow.

Had there been a drive against Jewish culture? The poet Alexei Surkov, who is secretary of the Soviet Writers Union, said that there had been no such drive although "the false case drawn up by Beria against the Anti-Fascist Jewish Committee had an especially painful effect because such wonderful people were lost." He attributed the disappearance of Jewish publications largely to two factors:

1. The strong tendency toward assimilation after the Revolution, especially among the younger generation. This, he said, reached the point where it was "a rare case" when the youth spoke the language of their fathers.

2. The devastation during the war of western Russia and the Ukraine, where large centers of Jewish population were located. Minsk, for example, where 35% of the population had been Jewish, and where there had been Jewish schools, press and cultural activities, was totally destroyed. When it was restored after the war, its population had almost completely changed. The same was true of other centers of Jewish life.

NO EXCITEMENT: Millions of Jews were killed by Hitler's legions despite efforts to evacuate them. Many were saved and sent with other evacuees beyond the Urals. Some decided to stay on there after the war. (You can meet them in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, and presumably other Asian Republics, living and working as do citizens of all other nationalities, without a trace of discrimination.) Of course others came back, but the war had destroyed most of the old Jewish centers.

Surely national hostilities have not been entirely eliminated; this includes not only anti-Semitism but hostility between Armenians and Georgians and other peoples in the Caucasus and Caspian regions.

—Tabitha Petran

The conventions

(Continued from Page 1)

offered the enmity of Truman. To farm states mistrustful of Stevenson he had already appeared as a champion in the primaries. With the Democratic Party so seething with malcontents such a maverick was dangerous. The Stevenson forces could not be sure of victory until he was won over. He was. It was vigorously denied that the Vice-Presidency was the pay-off. But the debt Stevenson owed was unquestioned and his creditor had made it clear he would settle for second place on the ticket.

At the last moment that necessity—certainly painful to the South and reportedly unpleasant to Stevenson—was almost averted in the "open" balloting for the Vice Presidency. The elements that forced Kefauver on the ticket were mainly the farm states and the random, disaffected delegates who in 1956, as in 1952, pushed Kefauver principally because the kingmakers had shown their disapproval of him.

TITLE—AND CONTROL: The Republican conflict was simpler. The Old Guard that had fought for Robert A. Taft in 1952 had never fully surrendered, and Sen. Knowland (Calif.) invoked his spirit at the Cow Palace. Their opponents, all outside the machine, such as Gov. Langlie of Washington, Gov. Herter of Massachusetts, UN Ambassador Henry

Herblock in Washington Post

"Harold has been rehabilitated."

C. Lodge Jr. and Presidential Assistant Sherman Adams had snatched titular control in 1952 by giving the party its only hope of victory: a completely unpolitical front-man, General Eisenhower.

The Old Guard retained control of the party machinery in 1952 and, under the chairmanship of Leonard Hall, held it again this year. In the long shadowy battle that had raged since the President's heart attack there has been one central objective of the Old Guard: to make sure that after Eisenhower their own man will pick up the mortgage on the White House and the party's leadership. The man chosen by the Old Guard to wait with discreet but unyielding tenacity was Richard Nixon.

HALL AND STASSEN: The San Francisco convention's first stage-managed ovation was accorded the wife of the Vice President. His picture hung alongside the President's in the Cow Palace and the "team" was toasted by every speaker. Leonard Hall is not a subtle man. For months he "predicted" that Nixon would be nominated. After a conference with the President he would express emphatic conviction that Nixon was the President's choice, admitting only when pressed that the subject had never come up.

The curious, dogged, lonely performance of Harold Stassen measured the pathetic weakness of the President's own camp in the party councils. Stassen, somewhat like Kefauver, could have rallied all the anti-machine elements in the party. If his mission lacked the blessing of the White House it never had any condemnation from that source. Even when Stassen's surrender was announced in a press conference the President refrained from saying that Nixon was his exclusive choice. He passed it off lightly, saying that all other possibilities had declined to run.

"ONLY A VOICE": Stassen humbly seconded Nixon's nomination. It was not so much a personal defeat: he seemed to have been chosen to lead a scouting party out on a limb. He must have been aware that should his mission fail, the limb would be sawed off behind him. He must have foreseen the end when Thomas Dewey, once counted in the Eisenhower wing, and a Nixon rival, switched to Nixon. He carried the lost cause to the end and made it seem a joke. What had been demonstrated was that though the Eisenhower wing was popular in the nation it could not rule the Republican Party.

Columnist Walter Lippmann wrote on Aug. 23 that hereafter the Eisenhower Republicans would have "only a voice and nothing like leadership and control. From the point of view of the professional politician, looking ahead to the next four years, the key position is the Vice Presidency and they [the drivers of the party machine] have used the steamroller to flatten out the opposition to their man."

DANGER OF FRANKNESS: The battles for control in both Chicago and San Francisco had to be kept, at least to some extent, from public view. It would have been unthinkable, for example, to have a genuinely open debate on the Vice Presidency without calling attention to the Republican taboo: the uncertain state of the President's health. Similarly a full discussion of civil rights would

(Continued on Page 7)

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The conventions

(Continued from Page 6)

have revealed and strained the embarrassing alliance of liberals and racists which, in the name of unity, now runs the Democratic Party.

The hidden battles offered to the viewer the strange spectacle of Cassandras crying doom at each convention. In Chicago Harry Truman, before his final surrender, had warned that Stevenson could not win. And Stassen in San Francisco, before he collapsed, said that Nixon might cost 8% or more of the Eisenhower vote.

Where in these political rivalries were the issues of this election? The acceptance speeches of all candidates spoke high-mindedly of visions. The platforms were not identical but, in the scales, they seemed to weigh the same. The Republicans produced a civil rights plank only "a shade" better than the Democrats' watery solution to the problem, according to Roy Wilkins, exec. secy. of the NAACP.

Milwaukee Journal

"Coattails we win (we hope)!"

The Democratic foreign policy plank, full of talk about "liberating" people from socialism and of high arms budgets, contrasted with the GOP's claim of credit for the Geneva Spirit.

THERE'S NO DIVISION: The Democrats offered labor a $1.25 minimum and a promise to repeal Taft-Hartley, while the Republicans said they would amend the act. The Democrats promised the farmer 90% parity and eventual 100% parity, while the Republicans stuck to the present sliding scales. On the whole, however, a look at the platforms would lead to the conclusion reached by the **Times'** James Reston: "This is no longer a country divided politically along ideological lines, if it ever was. The Democrats . . . have moved to the right and the Republicans have been cheering . . . New Deal measures that they would have booed four years ago."

There was reason to believe, however, that the mirror provided by the political parties was faulty. The issues in the nation could be more readily seen in Montgomery, Ala., in city slums, in homes of auto workers worried about automation, in churches praying for peace, in law courts where the most fundamental principles of the Constitution are being fought for all over again, on farms and in factories where Americans await the new era of competition with socialism.

ONE MISSING FACTOR: The conventions reflected little of these stirrings and therefore won a lower TV rating than most spectaculars. The flight from reality was tedious to viewers accustomed to more artful escapes. Editor Carey McWilliams of the **Nation**, commenting on the Democratic retreat on civil rights, gave a clue to what was missing:

"Yet the issue which, in a desperate moment, the Democrats met with courage in 1948, they fled in terror in 1956. But then there was a 'left' opposition in 1948; there is none today."

CALENDAR

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SWIM PARTY for the GUARDIAN Sat., Sept. 22 noon-6 p.m. 2189 N. Altadena Dr. (formerly Foothill Blvd.) Suggested donation: adults, 75 cents; children, 40 cents. All welcome.

Chicago

ANNA LOUISE STRONG "Stalin & After"—Sat., Sept. 22nd, 8:15 p.m. Hall B-3, 32 West Randolph. Tickets $1. Call AN 3-1877

PETE SEEGER "Songs of Friendship" Milda Hall, 3142 S. Halsted, Sat., Nov. 10., 8:15 p.m. Tickets 90c and $1:50. Call AN 3-1877.

Sebastopol, Calif.

COME AND JOIN US At an Outdoor Luncheon at the Ireland Ranch, 1526 Gravenstein Hwy., N. Entertainment and Food for Thought. Sun., Sept. 9 at Noon. Proceeds to National Guardian.

New York

CLUB CINEMA (430 Sixth Ave.) **"THE THIRTY-NINE STEPS,"** Sept. 1. Alfred Hitchcock's ace thriller, starring Robert Donat and Madeline Carroll. Showings: Sat., 8:30 and 10 p.m. Adm: Members, $1.00; non-members, $1.25; Next week: **"YOU CAN'T TAKE IT WITH YOU."**

Pacific Northwest

GUARDIAN FISH BARBECUE-PICNIC Sun., Sept. 9 at 2 p.m. Featuring Carlos Montoya Flamenco Record. Morford Place, 2 miles north of Narrows Bridge, first turn to right after leaving bridge, then one mile north and follows signs. Excellent food, congenial company, quiet spot, new music to enjoy. Donation $1 incl. dinner.

CLASSIFIED

General

FOR THE BEST PHOTO WORK order Pal Jumbo Prints bound in plastic album. 8 exposure film, 40c; 12 exposure film, 65c. **PAL FILM SERVICE,** Blvd. P.O. Box 123 G, New York 59, N. Y.

For Sale

FIVE-ROOM HOUSE, with bath. 3 bedrooms, 3 lots, fruit trees. Just off pavement, church next door, school close by, located in beautiful Bitter Root Valley of Montana. Small town of Grantsdale, 4 miles south of Hamilton, 50 miles south of Missoula. Price $6,500. Write: R. H. Cook, Grantsdale, Montana..

Resorts

BY WAY OF CONTRAST!

"Visit Greece, the tourists' paradise, the travel agencies tell you . . . (Their) pamphlets are bright with Greece's "flaming colors," but these are not the colors of Greece today. It is the drab grey of the prisoners' rags, of their final shrouds . . . The tourists' paradise is the Greek prisoners' Hell!" (From opening and closing statements of: "Greece: A Nightmare Persists"—N.G. 5/28/56).

This is the third ad I've placed in N.G. since that "Prisoners' Hell" article of May 28. The first two were on the classified column; this is in the "Resorts" column—the better to catch the eye—and conscience! For I figure those who can afford to spend even but a weekend at some "beautiful lake resort" can likewise spare a thought and a buck or two, or ten—for their fellow progressives—from Greece—"resorting" on those "arid, volcanic islands"—not just for a weekend, or a week, or a summer—but for a whole decade!

The repeated calls for help by these prisoners over the years have virtually fallen on deaf ears. Re-quoting from N.G. article: "The colors of Greece today (are) drab gray of the prisoners' . . . . **FINAL SHROUDS"!**

Recall the last lines of "In Flanders' Fields"? "If ye break faith with us who die, we shall not sleep, tho poppies grow in Flanders fields."

The strongest link in the unity of mankind is the one connecting the "quick and the dead." If this master link is severed, the whole of mankind will suffer the consequences! If these Greek political prisoners suffer another winter of living (and dying) death in their Hell camps, because of the supine failure of thousands of well-heeled U.S. progressives to lift a finger on their behalf, then—this master link will have been severed! And there WILL be hell to pay!

The N.G., like these prisoners, is in a desperate struggle for life. It is imperative that these ads be on a weekly basis. Only thus can those thousands of readers who WOULD look the other way be induced to face stark naked truth and necessity. Money must FLOW in! Support of these ads is also vital support to N.G. Please make out checks to N.G. but send to: **R. GRANT, 311 10th ST., LORAIN, OHIO.**

CAMEO COUNTRY CLUB (formerly Eager-Rosegarden). Enjoy a wonderful vacation at inexpensive rates, eating your fill of wonderful food, swimming in our mt. pool and engaging in all the sports, stomping it out with our Square Dance caller, dancing to Harry Lee's Orchestra and listening to the lovely voice of **MARTHA SCHLAMME,** who is on our staff. Full program continues through Labor Day and Rosh Hashonah—so rush reservations for your whole family. Weingart-Pasternak mgt. Phone Monticello 571 or write The Cameo, Bushville Rd., Harris, N. Y.

WHITE MOUNTAINS—Swimming, hiking, fishing, country dances, mountain-climbing, touring. Good food, modern conveniences, reasonable rates. Children welcome. **OPEN ENTIRE MONTH OF SEPT.** For details write: Mrs. J. Timms, Box 135, Wentworth, N. H. Tel: Rockwell 4-2544.

PINE LAKE LODGE, Kenoza Lake, N. Y. An informal resort, ideal for young families. Private lake, swimming, boating, fishing, sports, children's program & counsellors. Hi-fi. Scrumptious food. Open until Sept. 9th. Make early reservation for Jewish Holidays. Adults $42. Children $20-25. Send for booklet, Jeffersonville 212R.

SPRING MT. HOUSE, Jeffersonville, N. Y. Restful, beautiful surroundings on farm. Chickens, goats, cows, etc. City improvements. Swimming on premises. Ping pong, hand ball, TV. Ideal for children. Rates $37 adults, children $19 up. Y. Schwartz. Phones: Jeffersonville 290, OL 5-6971 (NYC).

HILLBERG FARM, Kerhonkson, N. Y. Tel.: Kerhonkson 8008 W. Open all year. $40 and $38 per week, $7.50 and $7 per day.

VEGETARIANS! Vacation at the **DAVID STRY GUEST RANCH** MELBOURNE, FLORIDA Finest fruits & vegetables, $35 per week, all exp No dead animals, no smoking, no alcohol.

NEW YORK CLASSIFIED

MERCHANDISE

ENGLISH BICYCLE with 3 speed gears, hand brakes, pump & tourist bag. **SPEC. $39.95.** Standard Brand Dist., 143 4th Ave. (13-14th Sts.) GR 3-7319. 1 hour free parking or 2 tokens

LARRABEE SHOE CORP. SAVE! 25% to 60% off **FAMOUS FACTORY SHOES** (men, women, children's.) Buy with confidence—money back in 7 days. 321 Church St., CA 6-9820. All subways to Canal St. station.

HI-FIDELITY RADIO-PHONOGRAPHS Sales, Installation, Service VECTOR LABORATORIES, 217 3rd Av., New York 3. GR 3-7686.

LARGE SAVINGS—Good, modern furniture at low markup. Come in and see. Special consideration to GUARDIAN readers. Open Sat. till 6. **SMILOW-THIELLE** New York: 856 Lex. Ave., MU 8-7308 White Plains: 41 Mamaroneck Ave. WH 8-4788

save! **FINE FURS** save! fur coats • jackets capes • minks • stoles Expert Remodeling and Repairing Convert your old fur coat to a fur-lined cloth coat. **MAX KUPERMAN** 315 7th Ave., OR 5-7773

SERVICES

SOFA REWEBBED, Relined, Springs Retied in your home. Reasonable. Furniture Repaired, Reupholstered, Cushioning. Call mornings 9-1, HY 8-7887. Fraternal Attention. On vacation Aug. 15-Sept. 6th.

MAILING, PHOTO-OFFSET MULTIGRAPHING, MIMEOGRAPHING **Custom Letter Service** 39 Union Square AL 5-8160

MOVING, STORAGE, EXPERIENCED PIANO MOVERS. Profit by my 20 yrs. experience. Call Ed Wendel, JE 6-8000 on any moving problem.

JIM'S EXPRESS Young vet. Move inexpensively. $3.50 per hour per man or flat rate. New station wagon. 24 hr. service. Phone: SU 7-7378.

FREE LIFE INSURANCE ANALYSIS Personal and business. Fire, health, accident, theft, etc., insurance placed. **RENE M. SCHENKER** 420 Lex Av., N. Y. 17 MU 3-2837

CARL BRODSKY INSURANCE Automobile, Fire, Life, etc. OR 5-3826 799 Broadway (Cor. 11th St.)

MARCEL PAINTING Private homes, apartments, business premises. Reasonable. Anywhere in 5 boros. For estimates phone: Nunez, OR 7-7880.

NEW YORK

Sunday, Sept. 23
LABOR PRESS
PICNIC
CAMP MIDVALE, N. J.
ADMISSION $1.50
CHILDREN FREE
Tickets at: DAILY WORKER, 50 E. 13 St., 8th fl.
WORKERS BOOKSHOP, 48 E. 13 St., N. Y.
BOOKWORLD, 714 Flatbush Ave., Brooklyn
Auspices: N. Y. Freedom of Press Comm.

Handwrought Jewelry SEVEN STEPS UP

phyllis 175 west 4th st nyc • prices start at $4 • or 5-8287 noon to 10 pm • (mon to 6) discounts to guardian readers.

WASHING MACHINE REPAIRS Sales—New and used machines Service for all types Brooklyn GE 4-4228

CUSTOM BUILT Cabinet-storage units, alterations for home, office, most reasonable. **STEIN INTERIORS** 239 W. 19th St. CH 3-8325

NORMA CATERERS: Now booking that special occasion in temple, home, or office. Unusual plan for exceptionally large receptions. Hor D'Oeuvres, turkeys, meat trays, etc., delivered anywhere in metropolitan area. Tel.: ES 3-9490.

BILL'S RADIO & TV SERVICE Written Guarantees • Itemized Bills Prompt • Reliable • Reasonable 252½ Bleecker St. WA 9-0813

BIG GEORGE'S MOVERS Moving and light hauling **MOST REASONABLE** 24 hour service **Phone: MO 3-4307**

PIANO TUNING Repairs All work guaranteed **SULLY CHILDS** 73 West 82d St. TR 3-0698

PHOTOGRAPHY

LAWRENCE PHOTO You name it I'll photograph it Walker 5-4156 12 p.m.-12 a.m.

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITY

Men, women, opportunity, no investment, Part-time, fulltime, commission plus bonus plus retirable income. Start and earn $200 to $600 per month. Test sales and/or organizational ability. Call NA 8-3812, NI 8-6359.

HELP WANTED

YOUNG MAN, bright, fill clerical position. Opportunity learn advertising. Salary advancement based on ability. Sumlar Co., 1625 Nostrand Ave., Brooklyn 26, N.Y.

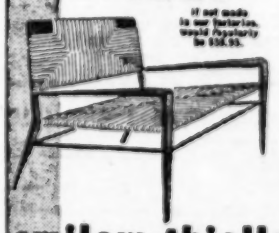
FURNISHED ROOM FOR RENT

FOR LADY, cozy, well furnished private room, light kitchen privileges. Rent reasonable. Call mornings 9 to 1 p.m. and evenings 6 to 8 p.m. UN 4-2892.

prize modern

The smart homemaker knows the value of a lounge chair in adding individuality and sparkle to the modern home. Here is one whose meticulous craftsmanship, graceful design and built-in comfort is truly a wonderful surprise at such a low price.

This chair is an exciting blend of walnut or blonde birch and the casual charm of hand woven rush. It offers you eye-catching modern beauty at an old fashioned purse pleasing price. WAC98 **29.95**



If not made in our factories, would regularly be $38.95.

smilow-thielle

NEW YORK: 856 Lex. Av. MU 8-7308
WHITE PLAINS: 41 Mamaroneck Av. WH 8-4788
Catalogue on request Enclose 50c.
Open Sat. till 6 p.m.

APARTMENT TO SHARE

WORKING GIRL IN LUCK. Found attractive modern 4½ room lower eastside. All transportation. You pay $50 a month. Call after 10 p.m. or weekends OR 4-3493.

PATRONIZE GUARDIAN ADVERTISERS

IT PAYS to advertise in the GUARDIAN! to patronize GUARDIAN advertisers!

Brooklyn, N.Y.

We moved recently so please change our address in your file.

We used Ed Wendel (movers) for our moving and can report nothing was broken and the job was done smoothly.

We used M. Nunez on the painting and he and his helpers did an excellent job at a fair price.

Also called Washco to look at the washing machine.

All in all, we are delighted with the people we called from your advertising columns. They were reliable and efficient.

All our thanks.

SOPHIE MARKS

A MAIL ORDER SERVICE OFFERING CONSUMER-TESTED MERCHANDISE AT A SAVING

GBS GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE

FREE 1 TEN-INCH (33 1/3) LP FOLK ALBUM

Buy any 5 albums listed on this page and you receive one FREE!

$18 VALUE for ONLY $12.50 ppd.

(List price $3.00 per album)

Individual albums are $2.50 ppd.

Please order by number

This offer expires September 30, 1956. All orders must be postmarked no later than this date. Only records listed below are included in this offer.

Regional Songs

#36. SOUTHERN MOUNTAIN FOLK SONGS sung by Harry & Jeanie West with guitar, banjo and mandolin accompaniment.

Ten wonderful backwoods mountain folk songs sung by people from the Southern mountains.

Red Rockin' Chair
Jimmy Randall
Little Birdie
Old Reuben
Down in a Willow Garden
The Old Arm Chair
George Collins
Little Maggie
Nellie Cropsey
Drifting Too Far From the Shore

•

#54. SOUTHERN MOUNTAIN HOEDOWNS with Woody Guthrie, Cisco Houston, Sonny Terry, Alec Stewart and others.

Some real, old-time mountain instrumentals and dance songs with lots of hoopin' and hollerin'.

Buffalo Gals
Joe Clark
Old Dan Tucker
Ida Red
Salty Dog Breakdown
Hoe Cakes Baking
Sally Gooden
Fiddle Breakdown

•

#71. I SING OF CANADA with Milt Okun and guitar and banjo accompaniment.

Sixteen delightful English and French songs.

Donkey Riding
Trinity Cake
She's Like the Swallow
J'ai Perdu Le Do
The Shantyman's Life
La Poulette Grise
Smoky Mountain Bill
A-Rishima, Tishima, Tee
Un Canadien Errant
A Gay Spanish Maid
Catch A Hold This One
Vive La Canadienne

#72. CATSKILL MOUNTAIN FOLK SONGS sung by Bob and Louise DeCormier with guitar accompaniment.

A delightful collection of songs produced in cooperation with the Camp Woodland Collection of Music from the Catskills and Norman Cazden, author of "A Catskill Songster."

I Walked the Road Again
My Love Is Like A Dewdrop
The Knickerbocker Line
The Bonny Laboring Boy
Will You Go Out West
The Rock Island Line
The Foggy Dew
The Cordwood Cutter
Last Winter Was A Hard One
Friends and Neighbors

•

#73. TEXAS FOLK SONGS sung by Hally Wood with guitar and banjo accompaniment.

Some of the best Negro and white folk songs from Texas sung by an exciting female folk singer.

Sugar Babe
O' Freedom
Worried Blues
When I Was Single
Believe I'll Call the Captain
Farther Along
St. James Hospital
Courting Case
Come and Go With Me
Love Henry
Amazing Grace
Santa Claus Blues
Red Apple Juice
Glory Hallelujah

•

Folksay Series

Some wonderful American folk songs sung by some of the great contemporary American folksingers recorded by Stinson. Words to all the songs are printed on the back of the albums.

•

#5. FOLKSAY: VOL. I with Pete Seeger, Leadbelly, Cisco Houston, Bess Lomax, Woody Guthrie, Baldwin Hawes, Josh White, Sonny Terry and Alec Stewart.

Glory
Poor Lazarus
It Was Sad When That Great Ship Went Down
Nine Hundred Miles
Cindy
Don't Lie, Buddy
Mule Skinner Blues
Who's Gonna Shoe Your Pretty Little Feet

#6. FOLKSAY: VOL. II with Leadbelly, Woody Guthrie, Cisco Houston, Sonny Terry, Bob Carey, Roger Sprung and Eric Darling.

Alabama Bound
Round the Bay of Mexico
Tom Dooley
Devilish Mary
Midnight Special
Sportin' Life Blues
Crawdad Song
Raise a Ruckus

•

#9. FOLKSAY: VOL. III with Woody Guthrie, Cisco Houston, Pete Seeger, Leadbelly, Sonny Terry and Josh White.

Yellow Gal
Hard Travelling
The Roving Gambler
Lost John
Casey Jones
Railroad Whistle
I've A Pretty Flower
Bile Dem Cabbage Down

•

#11. FOLKSAY: VOL. IV with Pete Seeger, Woody Guthrie, Leadbelly, Cisco Houston and Ernie Lieberman.

Pretty Women
Potato
Wild Indian
Jam Session
Duke of the Calypso
Mickey Cipriani
Rookoobay
Don't Stop That Carnival

#12. FOLKSAY: VOL. V with Cisco Houston, Pete Seeger, Woody Guthrie, Hally Wood, Leadbelly, Frank Warner and Sonny Terry.

Come All You Fair and Tender Ladies
Take This Hammer
Robo Bill
Go Tell Aunt Rhody
Teroo
Johnson Boys
The Rover
House of the Rising Sun
Old Smokey

•

#13. FOLKSAY: VOL. VI with Tom Glazer, Pete Seeger, Woody Guthrie, Cisco Houston, Ernie Lieberman, Gary Davis and Sonny Terry.

Down in the Valley
Froggy Went A-Courtin'
Young Man Who Wouldn't Hoe Corn
Corn Bread Rough
Jolly Roving Tar
Streets of Laredo
Soldier, Soldier
The Foggy Dew
Erie Canal
When the Train Comes Along

•

JAZZ

#23. JAZZ AT THE PHILHARMONIC, VOL. 1 presented by Norman Granz.

Here is an album of true improvisation. It was recorded at a jam session at the Philharmonic Auditorium in Los Angeles. The musicians were unaware that a record was being made. The artists include: Illinois Jacquet, Willie Smith, Charlie Ventura, saxophones; Joe Guy, Howard McGhee, trumpets; Garland Finney, piano; Red Callendar, bass; Ulysses Livingston, guitar; The Chicago Flash, drums.

GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE
197 E. 4th St., New York 9, N. Y.

Description of Item	Amount

(N.Y.C. buyers add 3% sales tax)

TOTAL _____

No COD's Full payment must accompany each order. Make checks or money orders payable to Guardian Buying Service.

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City ..... **Zone** .... **State**.....

the SPECTATOR

Toward unwashed brains

IN **The Public Arts,*** Gilbert Seldes offers us a a fact-filled survey of the three major art derivatives of modern technology—the movies, radio and television. Seldes does not pretend to be a theorist. He is committed to undefined standards of "good" art and to vague notions of democracy which include getting along with the system as it is.

Nevertheless, he calls needed attention to these three fields even though he may overstate his case with the flat generalization that they are "institutions as powerful in shaping our lives as our schools, our politics and our system of government." In the 25-year interval since he wrote **The Seven Lively Arts**, Seldes has worked in, watched and commented on the movies, radio and TV. His new survey goes from comedy to crusading with chapters on such figures as Jimmy Durante and an account of the historic Murrow-McCarthy telecasts. He gives us (without any deep comment) a beautiful example of the incompatibility of art production with its merchandising control:

"When a program was especially good, when a drama brought up a psychological problem of intense interest to the audience, people at home began to talk about the show the moment the commercial began, to discuss the message of the play while the sponsor's message went unheard. *It was better to give them programs they were not so excited about.*"

SOCIETY'S RESPONSE: The shortcomings of the book are not those of Seldes alone. They are really shortcomings of art theory and of our social thinking about the arts. Most theories of social progress for industrial societies which do not account for the mass arts and the mass communication media may be fairly compared to a theory of human anatomy which leaves out the nervous system and the brain. The analogy of the individual's nervous system and a modern society's communication system is apt, for it points along the way for which Pavlov broke ground in the physiology of the higher animals by showing the how and why of the conditioned reflex. It leads to the parallel social question of how and why societies and groups in societies respond in fixed ways to certain kinds of stimulation.

The absence from theory of answers to these questions—or even of the questions themselves in forms that make practical sense—may be reflected in the current poor showings of the most advanced capitalist and socialist countries in the arts. Bread is necessary but that "man does not live on bread alone" may be related to the fact that he has such a highly evolved nervous system. He has emotions and he has a continuous need for values and satisfactions which can be provided, for better or worse, only on the cultural level.

Since no truly human creatures exist or have ever existed, so far as the evidence of archaeology and anthropology show, in anything but cultures of some kind, to say "on the cultural level" is no more than to say "on the human level." What a people pays attention to, good or bad, becomes by the continuing act of attention that people's culture. What is bad should be improved, what is good should be supported; but in neither case should the fact and the culture be ignored.

SHAW AND HELEN TRENT: How are the tired workingman, his tired wife and confused kids going to find livable values and satisfactions? And what about an even more technological future? Given the material basis, how are they going to be more cultural, more fully human? With the exception of some condescensions toward esoteric jazz, this writer cannot recall a single admittedly progressive work dealing with culture as the people know it—and support it.

Among the memorable cultural dates of 1956 were those of Van der Meer the Younger (300 years), Mozart (200 years), Bernard Shaw (100 years) and the 30th year of continuous broadcasting of the soap opera, **The Romance of Helen Trent.** Even though Helen is still a 35-year old widow, still engaged to the same man after all those broadcasts, it might be objected, reasonably, that she doesn't belong in such company. Soap operas are not "cultural" culture. They are not "refined" fine art. Yet it might be argued, with just as much reason, that they do have a special significance for an age of electronic democracy, for what Thurber calls "the age of the atom and aspirin."

DO THEY RELATE? The novelty of our mass art vehicles has misled most of us, including Seldes, into thinking that our cultural problems are also entirely new. We forget that the ritual of the Mass in the middle ages, like those of the earlier temples and later meeting houses, had its artistic-emotional show and then its sermon, or "message from the sponsor," which aimed to relate the art pointedly to social realities.

When the reasonable message and the art of the past did relate, the society was comparatively healthy. When the sale of toothpaste today comes into head-on conflict not only with its means of drawing an audience but also with the source of livable value in the arts—as did the sale of indulgences which Luther denounced—the society cannot be called healthy. Seldes has begun the job by presenting the record of our popular arts. What remains is to nail the challenge of freer and more honest culture to the door of the mass art cathedrals everywhere.

—**Robert Joyce**

**THE PUBLIC ARTS* by Gilbert Seldes. 303 pp. Simon & Schuster, N.Y. $3.95.*